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MEMBER
NATIONAL NEGRO PRESS
ASSOCIATION

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INJUSTICE TO THE COLORED RACE A DANGEROUS MENACE TO THE WELFARE AND ADVANCEMENT OF THE AMERICAN WHITES.

crushing this dangerous evil, is perplexing as well as appalling, and is enough to force at least some alert minds to act in behalf of duty in offering some adjusting solution. Of course, the colored man has many faults, and I am not saying that he has any less faults than the white man; but the related covard practices, unjust and mean policies directed against his welfare rather than encourage by aggression toward remedy or diminish his faults—and this fact is plainly evident to the white man, too.

With party and sectional references, now, the described evil is not a matter that should concern the North any more or less than the South, or one political party any more than the other. Party or sectional differences should not effect either our national or respective racial welfare, in the least. Of course, evidently, it does, since we know that this is the original cause of some of the evils my argument refers to. But my point is that the situation should be immediately and forcibly adjusted jointly by all warring Americans irrespective of making the effort a systematic one of race, party, location or social rank, with object of precautionary discipline for the good of all, instead of mere precise criticism directed at certain elements and resulting in mere argumental excitement, confusion and intensified hate. Here we must remember that there are and always will be good and wise as well as mean and foolish people in every race, party, social rank and living locality, and that the proper adjustment of the situation related principally, therefore, is to abuse and suppress evil sentiment and stimulate one of justice and unity (friendly relationship) the country over. A final defense of this point is the fact that we know it is purely non-sense to try to contest such evident and important facts as related herein. Why "kick against the thorns" of justice to destroy them when the scythe of justice works so easily and effectively?

Just this one more little reference and I will conclude until I am more prepared for a more defined article on these matters in near future. Above all agencies, the press is responsible for the conditions I have related. Next to the press, in referred to respect, ranks the moving picture. In recent years the public, we might say internationally, has been guided by the press. Because it acts authoritatively as the direct spokesman of diplomats, industries all permitted intellectual authorities, makes it the most dangerous agency to human welfare if used for deceptive or otherwise wrong purposes and the most safe and beneficial agency if used as it should be used. It would be stern surprise to many good motivated American whites if they could be correctly informed as to extent to which mentioned movies, rights, progress and due importance of the American colored race has been carefully avoided by the particularly United States) press; and how, meantime, the press generally has carefully exhibited and emphasized every little error of the colored race or a member of it. This is as unwise as it is unjust, since it deceives many and hurts every one and benefits no one. Hate, deceit, envy and prejudice are the base evils, and the white man's weakness in resisting these sentimental evils is food for the rapid growth of this evil press policy. Of course, there are some exceptions as to honest publications in referred to respect, but such are so rare that very little is effected thereby upon the great public masses generally in respect of the colored race. The moving picture, although somewhat unlike the press as a public observatory point of view, has kept exact pace with the press, through combined medium of the various associated news and films services, in totally neglecting, or embarrassing misrepresenting, or else keeping the colored races in the extreme background. This is as unwise and unjust as the press methods described, for same reasons related respecting the evil and foolish press policy.

For God and humanity sake, fellow citizens, let us save our future generations from unnecessary bloodshed and protect our present interest and peace by putting an end to these dangerous and profitless evils before it is too late. My thus humble and earnest appeal is to all, since we all are one, or else we are far from that which some of us boast that we are as a nation. I expect to devote my future efforts to inventions and writings for benefit of humanity, not for any particular race except in so much

from the consent of the governed. "Since that time the spirit of democracy has been broad in the old world, permeating the whole mass of society, lighting the torch which precipitated the vast conflagration of the French revolution, striking down the shackles of privilege and feudalism and religious intolerance, and gathering the powerful forces which culminated in the most titanic war of history in which democracy and autocracy engaged in a death grapple for mastery. In that fearful struggle, when autocracy and unscrupulous military power had reached the very crest of victory and democracy seemed doomed, came that most pre-eminent day in American history, on the 2nd of April, 1917, the president of the United States came before an extraordinary session of congress and concluded his memorable address asking for war with these immortal words:

"It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free people as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

"These words will live because they condense in a few sentences the living spirit of democracy. "Yet the peace and security we have gained has been at a fearful cost. The loss and destruction of life and property can be approximately estimated; but who can compute how much the arts, the sciences, poetry, literature, philosophy and the progress of civilization have suffered by the sudden passage of millions of brave spirits from the light and beauty of life to the oblivion of death?"

"I appreciate the compliment done me by your honorable invitation to address so distinguished a body of my fellow-citizens. Through the influence of the spirit of democracy we are all fellow-citizens regardless of race or creed—all Americans, loyal to her traditions and proud of her splendid record in peace and war. "Over half a century ago Lincoln declared that the republic could not endure half free and half slave and through the final arbitrament of arms slavery died and the republic endured. We all recognize now that through the dispensations of an inscrutable providence, the silent but mighty force of democracy slavery was thrown, and from its ruins arose the greatest republic of all times, whose might and power were destined by God to save civilization and humanity in the most titanic war in history from the new barbarism, from the curse of autocracy and unscrupulous military power. "Had the honest purposes of the South not been crushed and her brave armies beaten and the American conflict adjudged by higher wisdom than our own, and the American union saved by the storm of war, today continental Europe would be under the mastery of German autocracy, and the triumphant march of democracy checked now and possibly for all time."

"Under the providence of God, the American union was saved, that at the most critical period of the world's history, when civilization and human liberty hung in the balance in the most colossal war of all time, the incomparable might, power and strength of this great republic could be thrown into the ranks of free men in time to turn the wheel of fate and sweep of the fatal struggle, to check the victorious rush of German invasion, and send them reeling backward—always backward—until autocracy was overthrown and democracy made triumphant and safe in the world. "It is difficult for us to realize that into the last four and a half years have been crowded the most momentous events in the whole history; thrones have toppled—the three most powerful and autocratic dynasties of Europe have been overthrown, and with their fall kings and princes of smaller states have disappeared, fleeing for their lives to neutral states. Subject races, whose aspirations for self-determination and free local self-government, have for centuries been crushed by the weight of arbitrary power, emerging from the dark night of misrule and tyranny into the bright dawn of the new freedom for which they had hoped and prayed so long that hope had almost turned into despair. "At last over a new Europe the immortal declaration of Jefferson is about to be realized, that all just government derives its powers from the consent of the governed."

This day in history is but the culmination of events that have been slowly gathering since the fall of the Roman empire two thousand years ago. "When Rome fell the world fell," no organized government remained; but slowly through the dark night of the centuries that followed tribes were formed into kingdoms, then kingdoms into nations, but nowhere was the right of the people to exercise a controlling voice in government recognized. Men fought and died for liberty, but it was that liberty which came not as a right but as a boon from the grace of the sovereign. Even when the barons met at Runnymede and exacted from King John the great charter, the ancient rights and privileges which they claimed, was conceded, came not as a right but as a boon from the grace of the king. Slowly in all countries, through parliaments and assemblies, the people came to exercise greater power in government; but it was not until the colonies, in the immortal declaration, announcing the doctrine that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that the triumph and march of democracy really commenced. It was a new and startling doctrine and one that made insecure every throne in Europe, the declaration that rights and liberties of the people were derived not from the grace or clemency of kings and emperors, but came from the inherent sovereignty of the people themselves. "While the growth of democracy was foreshadowed by the British struggle of crown and barons—the magna charta—the declaration of rights, yet its real beginning was in the American Declaration of Independence and the gradual acceptance by the world of the new but fundamental doctrine it announced, that all government derived its just powers

the body of its followers would still voice the ticket. To the party name to the party organization, and not to the party's principles, we gave our first allegiance, with the result that there was too little party independence, freedom of thought or action; we overlooked the fact that a political party was an organization to carry out certain well-defined policies and controlled by certain well-considered principles; and we too generally agreed that with which to win election and to be abandoned when victory was won. With the advent of war, the necessary enlargement of all the powers of the federal government, with its selective service law, its espionage act, the regulation and control of all public utilities, and the food, clothing, heat and light, and other war measures, we came for the first time to realize how far-reaching and extensive were the powers of the government. State governments were forgotten and all our thoughts and interests were concentrated on the activities of the government at Washington. Nothing else mattered but winning the war, and the people cheerfully and without protest submitted to the centralization in the president of powers as absolute and dictatorial as could be exercised by the most autocratic government. It has been claimed that democracy was impotent in war because the power necessary for its efficient conduct could not be concentrated in our commander-in-chief. It was true that if the president could only exercise in war the powers vested in him in peace that here would have been that lack of unity of command, that prompt and vigorous executive action as essential in war. It was a tribute to our system of constitutional government, to its flexibility and adaptability to meet changing conditions, that our powers could, without violating any provision of the federal constitution, vest in the president and commander-in-chief, while the nation was confronted with the emergency of war, powers as supreme as any complete as those exercised by the most autocratic ruler. And congress, voicing the demands of public opinion, conferred those vast and extensive powers on the president, with the full consciousness that they would not be abused, but exercised solely to protect the public interests, the successful prosecution of the war, and that when the emergency ceased they would be surrendered and transferred back to the people from which they came. The promptness with which congress passed every measure demanded by the president for the successful conduct of the war, the patriotic response of the people to Liberty Loans, the Red Cross, the selective service law, the unity of purpose and splendid spirit of co-operation which permeated all sections of the country, aroused and brought into being a stronger and more intense spirit of national patriotism than the country had ever experienced in its history.

"When democracy was in danger we began for the first time to fully appreciate the blessings of free government it had brought our people, and the whole country rallied as one man to the battle cry of the president that the world must be made safe for democracy. "Meaning of Democracy. "But democracy does not mean the unrestricted rule of the numerical majority. The absolute power of the majority under our system is restrained and limited by restrictions on legislative power, by the bill of rights and other provisions found in both federal and state constitutions. The bill of rights conferred on the citizen fundamental rights and privileges which government cannot invade. Such are the rights of trial by jury, the right to personal liberty and private property according to the law of the land, the writ of habeas corpus, the right to bear arms, the provision that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted, as well as the guarantee of the South went to the front they entrusted their helpless wives and children to the custody of the slaves and that history has no parallel to the loyalty and good faith with which this trust was discharged. When my father was at the front fighting with Lee and Johnston it was a trusted black man and his wife that stood sentinel at the door to protect my mother and protect the children and through all the vicissitudes and storms of war they discharged that trust with a simple faith and loyalty which will always keep their names alive in the sacred recesses of affectionate memory. And when after years of awing freedom came to the slaves, it came to a race without one single stain of disloyalty to the great trust they so faithfully discharged during the civil war."

The Race Problem. "What then of the race problem about which so much has been written and spoken? It is being solved and solved permanently and with such justice as is possible for the finite mind by the good sense and the friendly co-operation and the sympathy of both races. What then is the duty of the South? It is the duty of the South to stand under any and all conditions the equal protection of the law. It is, further, to share with him justly and impartially her educational fund. The old theory which so many in the South honestly advocated, that the best interests of both races would be promoted by keeping the colored man in ignorance or giving him only a limited education confined to the common schools, has been disproven by the stern logic of history and experience. There is nothing so costly as ignorance and nothing so cheap as education. If the Negro race is kept in ignorance by an established policy of the South we must not forget that the interests of the white race will be the first to be jeopardized. Living well as slaves by the weight of that ignorance will have strength to drag us down. Over one-half of our agricultural lands are cultivated by the Negro race, and he constitutes the principal labor in our mills and factories and industrial enterprises. Does history record a single instance where a country has ever reached a high degree of progress, development and prosperity where labor was unfree, where the citizen was in ignorance or uneducated? In all great epidemics where is found the soil wherein disease and pestilence are quickly bred—the homes of the ignorant and uneducated. "What are the chief fruits of education? Efficiency: that efficiency of which we have heard so much in

late years; that efficiency which alone enabled America to create and transport successfully across three thousand miles of ocean, boats with the hidden perils of mind and submarine, millions of men and equipment, and to throw her fresh strength into the struggle for liberty and to turn the tide of battles. "Let the white man and the black man standing side by side, with hearts from which have passed all envy, hate and prejudice, go forward in amity and friendship and concord, inspired by the same ideals and aspirations to solve justly the mighty problems of the future, let the only rivalry between the races be that generous rivalry to best promote the reign of justice and righteousness, of peace and concord, among the millions who here dwelling side by side should all be inspired by a common purpose to transmit unimpaired to our children and our children's children the blessings of liberty regulated by law. "When the very life of the nation was at stake in some sections of our country there were a few who raised the red flag of treason and disloyalty; some who had enjoyed the protection of our free institutions would substitute for the Stars and Stripes the red flag of anarchy and the Bolshevik. Yet it can be said to the everlasting credit of the Negro race that they were never infected by the poison of German propaganda, that they affiliated with no leagues or organizations seeking to overthrow an established authority of advocating internationalism or the bloody code of murder and robbery of the Bolshevik and similar organizations. "Those who advocate liberty without order, or order without liberty, misinterpret the true spirit of democracy. The democracy for which America stands and whose true spirit we interpret is the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government—a government whose powers are limited by a written constitution and where the right of the individual citizen to life, liberty and property and the pursuit of happiness is buttressed against attack by sacred constitutional guarantees; a government not of any privileged classes but a government whose officials are the servants and not the masters of the people; a government not subject to the changing moods and caprices of a numerical majority; but a government of laws where equal protection is a birthright alike of the most powerful as well as the humblest citizen of the community; a government where local self-government, the most cherished possession of free people in every age, is most resolutely guarded and maintained. "Mob Violence. The true spirit of democracy sets its face like a flint against all forms of mob violence and lynch law. The sentence of Judge Lynch violates every rule of law and order and justice. Lynch law is a misnomer; it is a lynch lawlessness and murder. There is but one law in this country and that is the law administered by the orderly processes of the courts. Wherever any persons, however great their numbers or respectable their character,

put to death by mob violence any citizen of this country or any foreigner enjoying the protection of our laws, the act is none-the-less murder, however flagrant or odious may be the crime for which punishment is inflicted. Lynch law always increases the crime which it seeks to prevent, and whatever may be the crime or whatever may be the motive, which incites mob violence, it tends to weaken all constituted authority, to breed a spirit of lawlessness and lower the moral tone of the community. It flagrantly and shamelessly ignores all those fundamental rights of citizenship, which the experience of ages has shown to be necessary before guilt can be established and punishment inflicted. "The Constitution of the United States and of every state commands, first, that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury; second, nor compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; third, he shall enjoy the right to a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the state or district wherein the crime shall have been committed; fourth, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining evidence in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. No man, therefore, in this country can be legally put to death without being accorded the full protection of each one of these safeguards of liberty. There is no character or protection of society justifies the substitution of mob violence for the orderly processes of the courts for the punishment of crime. There are many law-abiding citizens who, while opposing mob violence, justify it for the punishment of a certain odious crime. They ignore the fact established by experience that when and give play to the passions of the mob for the punishment of any crime, you but incite a spirit of lawlessness and private vengeance which refuses to limit itself to the infliction of punishment of one particular crime; but you open the floodgates of lawlessness which, unless checked, leads to governmental chaos and anarchy. It is also insisted by some that mob violence is justified by the technical defenses and the uncertainties of trials in courts of law. If our courts through on antiquated or illogical method of practice and procedure fail to punish crime with celerity and certainty, the remedy for these conditions is in the hands of the people themselves who make and unmake constitutions and laws. "To contend that organized society must rely on a lawless mob to enforce our criminal laws is an admission that popular government is a failure and that all the safeguards of individual liberty guaranteed by our constitutions are of no value and should be abandoned. It is a plea that organized society must be dissolved and the enforcement of our criminal laws entrusted to irresponsible

the unprovoked assaults and aggressions of the Imperial German government we were forced to enter war or forfeit our national honor and respect, we were the least prepared of all the great nations of the world. Our army and navy were both utterly inadequate when measured by the requirements of modern war. Hence our first task was to create an army commensurate with our prestige as a nation, and the question immediately arose whether that army should be created by the draft or the volunteer system. After weeks of debate the selective service law was adopted—a law based on the democratic theory of equality, the duty of every man within military age to defend in war the country that protected him in peace. The selective service law recognized no race or creed. Many predicted that it would be resisted and that it was contrary to the spirit of our institutions, but all these dire predictions were proven to be unfounded. At the time of its passage we were confronted with an armed foe; our flag was on the firing line, would it be defended? And the answer came when, on the 10th of June, 1917, between the rising and setting of the sun, in a country over three thousand miles in extent, with over one hundred millions of population, ten million young Americans stepped from the ranks of private life and enrolled themselves in the military service of the country. This was the answer to democracy and autocracy. Among those millions none responded more loyally than the colored man; and now that the war is ended no one can deny that the Negro race by its patriotic action, by its courage, its loyalty to the flag, its generous contributions of Liberty Loans, Red Cross funds and other war activities, has earned and won a higher place than ever before in the confidence and the respect and sympathy of the country. "The Duty of the South. But the war has not settled the great problem which the South must solve. What is its duty? It must carry and continue to carry in its borders two separate and distinct races. It must carry them in peace, in harmony and in a spirit of mutual co-operation, for discord and race enmity would be disastrous to both races. The white race has reason of its greater numbers, a more general diffusion of education and wealth, a race accustomed for centuries to self-government, is the stronger race, and it owes to the Negro that even and exact justice which the strong man should always accord to the weak. As declared years ago by that brilliant son of the South, Henry Grady, "She must carry them in peace, for separation means debasement. She must carry them in equal justice, for to this she is pledged in honor and gratitude." The South must carry these two races to the end, for all schemes of colonization and migration or the establishment of separate states for the Negro race are but visionary dreams. Moreover, the South would not give up the Negro if it could. But my friends, there is one fact in history which in justice should be recalled. It was New England that sold her slaves to the South and introduced slavery in our section. That she reaped a handsome profit from the transaction none can deny; that she repented of the evil which she had done and first clamored for abolition is true. But neither New England nor the North can appreciate or understand the strong ties of sympathy, of friendship and affection which have united the two races. The South would not if it could restore that condition from which the Negro was rightfully freed. When the shackles were struck from the limbs of the Negro race, the South was freed from a system to which she had been a slave—a system which put limitations on her progress and development. What of the Negro race? The most loyal and devoted friends I have ever possessed came from the men and women of that race. The South will never forget that when the men who followed Lee and Johnston and fought in the armies of the South went to the front they entrusted their helpless wives and children to the custody of the slaves and that history has no parallel to the loyalty and good faith with which this trust was discharged. When my father was at the front fighting with Lee and Johnston it was a trusted black man and his wife that stood sentinel at the door to protect my mother and protect the children and through all the vicissitudes and storms of war they discharged that trust with a simple faith and loyalty which will always keep their names alive in the sacred recesses of affectionate memory. And when after years of awing freedom came to the slaves, it came to a race without one single stain of disloyalty to the great trust they so faithfully discharged during the civil war."

National Conscience. "Prior to the war there was a lack of national conscience, a virile national patriotism. We accepted without question or investigation the claim that ours was the best and freest of all governments. We were proud of our enormous resources, our vast territory, its wonderful industrial growth, its increasing population and wealth. We were more concerned with solving the problems of state and city governments than in the activities of the federal government. The government at Washington was something vague and far away and with which we came into contact only when we paid taxes or elected congressmen and presidents. We were stalwart partisans and wanted our party to control government, principally that we might share the distribution of offices and patronage. Elections was the main consideration. If the democratic party which had opposed summary laws declared for prohibition, or if it abandoned states' rights and favored centralization, the ordinary democratic voter was still a democrat. If the republican party abandoned the protective tariff and declared for a tariff for revenues only,

the body of its followers would still voice the ticket. To the party name to the party organization, and not to the party's principles, we gave our first allegiance, with the result that there was too little party independence, freedom of thought or action; we overlooked the fact that a political party was an organization to carry out certain well-defined policies and controlled by certain well-considered principles; and we too generally agreed that with which to win election and to be abandoned when victory was won. With the advent of war, the necessary enlargement of all the powers of the federal government, with its selective service law, its espionage act, the regulation and control of all public utilities, and the food, clothing, heat and light, and other war measures, we came for the first time to realize how far-reaching and extensive were the powers of the government. State governments were forgotten and all our thoughts and interests were concentrated on the activities of the government at Washington. Nothing else mattered but winning the war, and the people cheerfully and without protest submitted to the centralization in the president of powers as absolute and dictatorial as could be exercised by the most autocratic government. It has been claimed that democracy was impotent in war because the power necessary for its efficient conduct could not be concentrated in our commander-in-chief. It was true that if the president could only exercise in war the powers vested in him in peace that here would have been that lack of unity of command, that prompt and vigorous executive action as essential in war. It was a tribute to our system of constitutional government, to its flexibility and adaptability to meet changing conditions, that our powers could, without violating any provision of the federal constitution, vest in the president and commander-in-chief, while the nation was confronted with the emergency of war, powers as supreme as any complete as those exercised by the most autocratic ruler. And congress, voicing the demands of public opinion, conferred those vast and extensive powers on the president, with the full consciousness that they would not be abused, but exercised solely to protect the public interests, the successful prosecution of the war, and that when the emergency ceased they would be surrendered and transferred back to the people from which they came. The promptness with which congress passed every measure demanded by the president for the successful conduct of the war, the patriotic response of the people to Liberty Loans, the Red Cross, the selective service law, the unity of purpose and splendid spirit of co-operation which permeated all sections of the country, aroused and brought into being a stronger and more intense spirit of national patriotism than the country had ever experienced in its history. "When democracy was in danger we began for the first time to fully appreciate the blessings of free government it had brought our people, and the whole country rallied as one man to the battle cry of the president that the world must be made safe for democracy. "Meaning of Democracy. "But democracy does not mean the unrestricted rule of the numerical majority. The absolute power of the majority under our system is restrained and limited by restrictions on legislative power, by the bill of rights and other provisions found in both federal and state constitutions. The bill of rights conferred on the citizen fundamental rights and privileges which government cannot invade. Such are the rights of trial by jury, the right to personal liberty and private property according to the law of the land, the writ of habeas corpus, the right to bear arms, the provision that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted, as well as the guarantee of the South went to the front they entrusted their helpless wives and children to the custody of the slaves and that history has no parallel to the loyalty and good faith with which this trust was discharged. When my father was at the front fighting with Lee and Johnston it was a trusted black man and his wife that stood sentinel at the door to protect my mother and protect the children and through all the vicissitudes and storms of war they discharged that trust with a simple faith and loyalty which will always keep their names alive in the sacred recesses of affectionate memory. And when after years of awing freedom came to the slaves, it came to a race without one single stain of disloyalty to the great trust they so faithfully discharged during the civil war."

The Race Problem. "What then of the race problem about which so much has been written and spoken? It is being solved and solved permanently and with such justice as is possible for the finite mind by the good sense and the friendly co-operation and the sympathy of both races. What then is the duty of the South? It is the duty of the South to stand under any and all conditions the equal protection of the law. It is, further, to share with him justly and impartially her educational fund. The old theory which so many in the South honestly advocated, that the best interests of both races would be promoted by keeping the colored man in ignorance or giving him only a limited education confined to the common schools, has been disproven by the stern logic of history and experience. There is nothing so costly as ignorance and nothing so cheap as education. If the Negro race is kept in ignorance by an established policy of the South we must not forget that the interests of the white race will be the first to be jeopardized. Living well as slaves by the weight of that ignorance will have strength to drag us down. Over one-half of our agricultural lands are cultivated by the Negro race, and he constitutes the principal labor in our mills and factories and industrial enterprises. Does history record a single instance where a country has ever reached a high degree of progress, development and prosperity where labor was unfree, where the citizen was in ignorance or uneducated? In all great epidemics where is found the soil wherein disease and pestilence are quickly bred—the homes of the ignorant and uneducated. "What are the chief fruits of education? Efficiency: that efficiency of which we have heard so much in

late years; that efficiency which alone enabled America to create and transport successfully across three thousand miles of ocean, boats with the hidden perils of mind and submarine, millions of men and equipment, and to throw her fresh strength into the struggle for liberty and to turn the tide of battles. "Let the white man and the black man standing side by side, with hearts from which have passed all envy, hate and prejudice, go forward in amity and friendship and concord, inspired by the same ideals and aspirations to solve justly the mighty problems of the future, let the only rivalry between the races be that generous rivalry to best promote the reign of justice and righteousness, of peace and concord, among the millions who here dwelling side by side should all be inspired by a common purpose to transmit unimpaired to our children and our children's children the blessings of liberty regulated by law. "When the very life of the nation was at stake in some sections of our country there were a few who raised the red flag of treason and disloyalty; some who had enjoyed the protection of our free institutions would substitute for the Stars and Stripes the red flag of anarchy and the Bolshevik. Yet it can be said to the everlasting credit of the Negro race that they were never infected by the poison of German propaganda, that they affiliated with no leagues or organizations seeking to overthrow an established authority of advocating internationalism or the bloody code of murder and robbery of the Bolshevik and similar organizations. "Those who advocate liberty without order, or order without liberty, misinterpret the true spirit of democracy. The democracy for which America stands and whose true spirit we interpret is the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government—a government whose powers are limited by a written constitution and where the right of the individual citizen to life, liberty and property and the pursuit of happiness is buttressed against attack by sacred constitutional guarantees; a government not of any privileged classes but a government whose officials are the servants and not the masters of the people; a government not subject to the changing moods and caprices of a numerical majority; but a government of laws where equal protection is a birthright alike of the most powerful as well as the humblest citizen of the community; a government where local self-government, the most cherished possession of free people in every age, is most resolutely guarded and maintained. "Mob Violence. The true spirit of democracy sets its face like a flint against all forms of mob violence and lynch law. The sentence of Judge Lynch violates every rule of law and order and justice. Lynch law is a misnomer; it is a lynch lawlessness and murder. There is but one law in this country and that is the law administered by the orderly processes of the courts. Wherever any persons, however great their numbers or respectable their character,

put to death by mob violence any citizen of this country or any foreigner enjoying the protection of our laws, the act is none-the-less murder, however flagrant or odious may be the crime for which punishment is inflicted. Lynch law always increases the crime which it seeks to prevent, and whatever may be the crime or whatever may be the motive, which incites mob violence, it tends to weaken all constituted authority, to breed a spirit of lawlessness and lower the moral tone of the community. It flagrantly and shamelessly ignores all those fundamental rights of citizenship, which the experience of ages has shown to be necessary before guilt can be established and punishment inflicted. "The Constitution of the United States and of every state commands, first, that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury; second, nor compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; third, he shall enjoy the right to a speedy public trial by an impartial jury of the state or district wherein the crime shall have been committed; fourth, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining evidence in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense. No man, therefore, in this country can be legally put to death without being accorded the full protection of each one of these safeguards of liberty. There is no character or protection of society justifies the substitution of mob violence for the orderly processes of the courts for the punishment of crime. There are many law-abiding citizens who, while opposing mob violence, justify it for the punishment of a certain odious crime. They ignore the fact established by experience that when and give play to the passions of the mob for the punishment of any crime, you but incite a spirit of lawlessness and private vengeance which refuses to limit itself to the infliction of punishment of one particular crime; but you open the floodgates of lawlessness which, unless checked, leads to governmental chaos and anarchy. It is also insisted by some that mob violence is justified by the technical defenses and the uncertainties of trials in courts of law. If our courts through on antiquated or illogical method of practice and procedure fail to punish crime with celerity and certainty, the remedy for these conditions is in the hands of the people themselves who make and unmake constitutions and laws. "To contend that organized society must rely on a lawless mob to enforce our criminal laws is an admission that popular government is a failure and that all the safeguards of individual liberty guaranteed by our constitutions are of no value and should be abandoned. It is a plea that organized society must be dissolved and the enforcement of our criminal laws entrusted to irresponsible

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